

## Message Text

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TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HEREWITH FULL TEXT TWO NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIALS  
THURSDAY, DEC. 30, BEGINNING WITH "A NEW BEGINNING: FOREIGN  
POLICY..."

2. JIMMY CARTER WILL INHERIT A WORLD SITUATION NOT FREE OF  
CRISIS BUT ONE THAT IS NOT LIKELY TO DEMAND IMMEDIATE  
AGONIZING DECISIONS--NO BURGEONING VIETNAM WAR, NO ONGOING  
BAY OF PIGS INVASION SCHEME, NO BERLIN BLOCKADE. INTRACTA-  
BLE PROBLEMS FESTER ON SEVERAL CONTINENTS AND SOME WILL  
DEMAND ACTION BY THE UNITED STATES; BUT WITH LUCK,  
MR. CARTER WILL HAVE TIME TO PLAY HIMSELF GRADUALLY INTO  
HIS SELF-APPOINTED ROLE AS "THE SPOKESMAN FOR THE NATION IN  
THE AREA OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS."

3. SUCCESSFUL FOREIGN POLICY BEGINS AT HOME AND THE  
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PRESIDENT-ELECT HAS OFTEN DEMONSTRATED THAT HE IS AWARE  
OF THIS. HIS CHOICE OF CYRUS R. VANCE TO BE SECRETARY OF  
STATE SURELY MEANS AN END TO "LONG RANGER" DIPLOMACY AND  
THE RESTORATION OF COLLECTIVITY TO THE SHAPING OF THIS  
COUNTRY'S ACTIONS ABROAD. THIS MEANS AGAIN UTILIZING TO  
THE FULLEST THE EXPERTISE AND ENERGIES OF THE STATE DEPART-

MENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE, WHICH ATROPHIED UNDER SECRETARY  
KISSINGER.

4. AS MR. CARTER HAS EMPHASIZED, IT ALSO MEANS PRESIDENTIAL VIGILANCE TO INSURE BETTER COOPERATION AND COORDINATION FROM THOSE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS--AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, TREASURY, EVEN JUSTICE--WHOSE ACTIONS OFTEN AFFECT THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S ADMINISTRATION OF FOREIGN POLICY. IT ALSO MEANS THE REBUILDING OF A VITAL PARTNERSHIP WITH THE CONGRESS AND REGAINING, THROUGH GREATER OPENNESS AND CANDOR, THE CONFIDENCE AND SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES.

5. BARRING SOME UNANTICIPATED EXPLOSION, MESSRS. CARTER AND VANCE WILL HAVE TIME TO REBUILD A STRUCTURED, COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR FOREIGN POLICY, DRAWING ON ALL AVAILABLE EXPERTISE AND TALENT. NOTHING THEY COULD DO IN THEIR FIRST WEEKS OF OFFICE WOULD BE MORE LIKELY TO PAY LONG-RUN DIVIDENDS FOR STABILITY, WORLD ORDER AND EFFECTIVE CRISIS MANAGEMENT, SHOULD IT BECOME NECESSARY.

6. GIVEN HIS OWN EVIDENT PASSION FOR HALTING THE ARMS RACE AND THE WELL-TIMED APPEAL FROM LEONID I. BREZHNEV FOR RESTARTING THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS, MR. CARTER MAY BE TEMPTED BY THE PROSPECT OF AN EARLY MEETING WITH THE SOVIET LEADER. AND GIVEN THE IMPROVING CLIMATE FOR MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS, COUPLED WITH THE UNDOUBTED FACT THAT TIME FOR A SETTLEMENT THERE IS SLOWLY RUNNING OUT, THE NEW PRESIDENT WILL UNDERSTANDABLY GIVE UNCLASSIFIED

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URGENT ATTENTION TO THAT MOST DANGEROUS OF ALL WORLD PROBLEMS. IN THIS VITAL AREA, WHICH SECRETARY KISSINGER THROUGH THE MOST PAINSTAKING AND SKILLFUL NEGOTIATIONS HAS LED NEARER TO PEACE THAN IT HAS BEEN IN YEARS, MR. CARTER SHOULD LOSE NO TIME IN BUILDING ON THESE FOUNDATIONS.

7. IN NEARLY ALL OF HIS STATEMENTS ON FOREIGN POLICY, MR. CARTER EMPHASIZED PRIORITY FOR REJUVENATING THIS COUNTRY'S MAJOR ALLIANCES--FOR PERFECTING "A PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN NORTH AMERICA, WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN," AS HE SAID AT THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION IN NEW YORK LAST JUNE.

8. IT IS A WISE PRIORITY, PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER HAVE MENDED FENCES WITH THE NATO PARTNERS AND JAPAN SINCE INTER-ALLIED RELATIONSHIPS SANK TO A DANGEROUS LOW IN A MIASMA OF DISTRUST AND BACKBITING AFTER THE ARAB-ISRAELI WAR OF 1973. BUT THE PROCESSES OF CONSULTATION COULD STILL BE GREATLY REFINED WITH "CONTINUING CONTACTS AT ALL LEVELS," AS MR. CARTER HAS SAID. AND

AS HE ALSO RECOGNIZED, "TO THE MAXIMUM EXTENT POSSIBLE," AMERICAN DEALINGS WITH THE COMMUNIST POWERS "SHOULD

REFLECT THE COMBINED VIEW OF THE DEMOCRACIES, AND THEREBY  
AVOID SUSPICIONS BY OUR ALLIES THAT WE MAY BE DISRE-  
GARDING THEIR INTERESTS."

9. CLOSEST POSSIBLE COOPERATION WITH THE EUROPEAN ALLIES  
AND JAPAN IS ESSENTIAL IN ORDER TO AVOID SERIOUS ECONOMIC  
DIFFICULTIES WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, IMPROVE THE  
CONDITIONS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE, COPE WITH SUCH COMMON  
PROBLEMS AS INFLATION AND ENERGY SHORTAGES, AND FASHION  
A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE RESPONSE TO THE INCREASINGLY STRIDENT  
DEMANDS OF THE POORER NATIONS FOR A GREATER SHARE OF THE  
WORLD'S BOUNTY.

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10. IN ASIA, FREE OF THE TERRIBLE BURDEN OF THE VIETNAM  
WAR, AND WITH RELATIONS WITH JAPAN ON THE UPGRADE, THE  
CARTER ADMINISTRATION OUGHT TO BE ABLE GRADUALLY TO MAKE  
CONTACT WITH THE NEW REGIMES OF INDOCHINA, EXPAND RELATIONS  
WITH CHINA WITHOUT SACRIFICING THE INDEPENDENCE OF TAIWAN,  
AND STRIVE FOR HEALTHIER, LESS-DEPENDENT RELATIONSHIPS  
WITH SOUTH KOREA AND THE PHILIPPINES.

11. IN AFRICA, THE ADMINISTRATION MUST PERSEVERE WITH THE  
PRAISEWORTHY BUT VERY BELATED EFFORT OF ITS PREDECESSOR TO  
HELP BRING A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE IN  
RHODESIA AND THE TRANSFER OF CONTROL FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO  
A MAJORITY GOVERNMENT IN NAMIBIA, ELECTED UNDER UNITED  
NATIONS SUPERVISION.

12. IN THIS HEMISPHERE, THERE IS ONE CLEAR PRIORITY. IT  
IS CERTAIN TO BECOME URGENT, EVEN CRITICAL, DURING 1977.  
IT IS A NEW TREATY THAT WILL INSURE UNRESTRICTED ACCESS TO  
THE PANAMA CANAL AND A UNITED STATES SHARE IN ITS DEFENSE  
WHILE CONFERRING SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE CANAL ZONE ITSELF TO  
THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA.

13. THIS WILL REQUIRE MR. CARTER TO RECAST SOME OF HIS  
CAMPAIGN STATEMENTS ON THIS EMOTIVE ISSUE. BUT WITHOUT A  
NEW TREATY THAT WILL REMOVE A SYMBOL--ODIOUS IN ALL OF  
LATIN AMERICA--OF AN OUTDATED COLONIAL RELATIONSHIP, THE  
ADMINISTRATION CANNOT HOPE TO HAVE AN EFFECTIVE POLICY  
FOR THE AMERICAS.

14. "...AND THE DEFENSE BUDGET."

15. DURING THE CAMPAIGN, PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER SEEMED TO  
INDICATE THAT HIS INTENTION WAS NOT TO REDUCE MILITARY  
SPENDING BUT ONLY THE RATE OF GROWTH. EVEN THIS WILL NOT  
BE EASILY DONE, AS DEFENSE SECRETARY-DESIGNATE HAROLD  
BROWN HAS NOW AFFIRMED. ANY PROPOSED CUTBACK UNDOUBTEDLY  
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WILL RUN INTO RESISTANCE FROM THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL-CONGRESSIONAL COMPLEX, REINFORCED BY UPWARD REVISIONS RECENTLY IN INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATES OF THE SOVIET UNION'S CAPABILITIES AND INTENTIONS. IT IS VITAL, NEVERTHELESS, TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE PROBLEM IS POLITICAL MORE THAN MILITARY. THE NATION'S MILITARY CAPABILITY COULD BE MAINTAINED AND EVEN IMPROVED AT SIGNIFICANTLY LOWER COST. THE CATALOGUE OF POTENTIAL SAVINGS IS LONG.

16. THE OVERRIDING FACTOR, HOWEVER, IS PSYCHOLOGICAL--THE WORLD'S PERCEPTION OF AMERICA'S STRENGTH AND THE STATUS OF EAST-WEST DETENTE.

17. IF THE CLIMATE OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS DETERIORATES AND THERE IS A BREAKDOWN IN THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS (SALT II) WITH MOSCOW, MR. CARTER IS MORE LIKELY TO PREPARE A HIGHER THAN A LOWER DEFENSE BUDGET NEXT FALL. BUT IF A SALT II TREATY IS COMPLETED, THE ATMOSPHERE WILL FAVOR SOME DOWNWARD REVISIONS OF DEFENSE SPENDING, PARTICULARLY IN THE FORD ADMINISTRATION'S STEPPED-UP STRATEGIC ARMS BUDGET.

18. MR. CARTER, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS SPOKEN OUT AGAINST CURRENT PREPARATION FOR FIGHTING A LIMITED STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WAR AND HAS COMMITTED HIMSELF TO A RETURN TO THE EARLIER STRATEGY OF DETERRENCE. NEW PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO PRODUCE DESTABILIZING "FIRST-STRIKE" WEAPONS UNDOUBTEDLY WILL BE RE-EXAMINED. THAT COULD BRING DELAY, IF NOT SUSPENSION, OF THE FORD ADMINISTRATION'S PROGRAM TO DEVELOP A BIG, NEW, HIGH ACCURATE REPLACEMENT FOR MINUTEMAN INTER-CONTINENTAL MISSILES, THE MX, WHICH WOULD COST \$30 BILLION OVER TEN YEARS.

19. APART FROM SUCH REVISIONS OF STRATEGY, THE THREE CHIEF AREAS WHERE SAVINGS CAN BE MADE, ACCORDING TO THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION'S ANNUAL DEFENSE STUDIES, ARE PAY UNCLASSIFIED

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SCALES, THE HIGH RATION OF SUPPORT TO COMBAT MANPOWER AND THE INCREASING COST AND SOPHISTICATION--OFTEN UNNEEDED-- OF NEW GENERATIONS OF WEAPONS.

20. PAYMENT OF CIVILIAN WAGES TO SOLDIERS, HIGH PENSIONS AND OTHER EMOLUMENTS INTRODUCED TO PREPARE FOR A DRAFT-FREE ARMY HAVE LIFTED MANPOWER COSTS TO ONE-HALF OR MORE OF THE DEFENSE BUDGET. IF MILITARY PAY HAD INCREASED SINCE 1968 BY NO MORE THAN THE AVERAGE RISE IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR, LAST YEAR'S DEFENSE BUDGET WOULD HAVE BEEN \$7 BILLION LOWER. EVEN SO, THE FORCES HAVE BEEN REDUCED BY

ALMOST 600,000 MEN, A 22 PERCENT CUT BELOW THE PRE-VIET-NAM LEVEL.

21. FROM THE PEAK OF THE VIETNAM WAR IN 1968 TO 1975, MILITARY MANPOWER DECLINED BY 40 PERCENT; CIVILIAN SUPPORT FOR THE MEN IN UNIFORM DECLINED ONLY 23 PERCENT, BROOKINGS FOUND. THE NUMBER OF NAVY SHIPS DECLINED 50 PERCENT; THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN NAVY UNIFORMS WAS DOWN ONLY 30 PERCENT.

22. THE BIGGEST WASTE IN THE ARMED FORCES IS THE PROFILIGATE USE OF MANPOWER, A LEGACY FROM THE ERA WHEN MANPOWER WAS CHEAP. THE RATIO OF STUDENTS TO INSTRUCTORS AND SUPPORT PERSONNEL IN MILITARY TRAINING SCHOOLS IS 1.5 TO 1; CIVILIAN COLLEGES RUN AT A 15 TO 1 RATIO. A 2 TO 1 STUDENT-TO-TEACHER RATIO IN MILITARY SCHOOLS WOULD SAVE 40,000 PEOPLE. THE BROOKINGS STUDY INDICATED THAT SUCH REFORMS IN SUPPORT OVERHEAD COULD REDUCE THE NUMBER OF DEFENSE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEES BY 200,000 OVER A FOUR-YEAR PERIOD, SAVING \$3 BILLION A YEAR BY 1980.

23. NUCLEAR SUBMARINES ARE AN EXTRAORDINARY ADVANCE IN MILITARY TECHNOLOGY; THEY CAN STAY SUBMERGED FOR LONG PERIODS AND COVER VAST DISTANCES WITHOUT REFUELING. BUT THE NUCLEAR AIRCRAFT CARRIER AND CRUISER ARE ANOMALIES.  
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UNLIKE THE SUBMARINE, WHICH TRAVELS ALONE, THE CARRIER TASK FORCE REQUIRES MANY CONVENTIONALLY-POWERED WARSHIPS AND SUPPLY VESSELS AND LITTLE IS GAINED FROM THE CARRIER'S NUCLEAR PROPULSION. YET CONSTRUCTION OF ANOTHER NUCLEAR SUPER-CARRIER AT A COST OF \$2 BILLION--PLUS \$4 BILLION FOR ITS DOUBLE COMPLEMENT OF AIRCRAFT--IS GETTING UNDER WAY AS A RESULT OF A CONGRESSIONAL VOTE STIRRED UP BY MR. CARTER'S OLD MENTOR, ADM. HYMAN RICKOVER.

24. THE CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE HAS JUST QUESTIONED THE VALIDITY OF THE ASSUMPTIONS THAT UNDERLIE THE NAVY'S CARRIER-CENTERED STRUCTURE. THERE IS DOUBT THAT CARRIER ATTACK AGAINST THE SOVIET HOMELAND AND ITS LAND-BASED AIRCRAFT AND MISSILES WOULD BE PROFITABLE OR EVEN FEASIBLE. A SHIFT IN NAVAL EMPHASIS TO CONTROLLING THE SEALANES AGAINST SOVIET SUBMARINES, THE CHIEF SOVIET NAVAL THREAT, COULD SAVE \$7 BILLION OVER FIVE YEARS.

25. CONSTRUCTION OF 244 B-1 STRATEGIC BOMBERS, DESIGNED TO PENETRATE SOVIET AIR DEFENSES AT A COST OF \$94 MILLION PER PLANE, IS GETTING UNDER WAY. MR. CARTER WILL HAVE TO MOVE FAST IF VAST SUMS ARE NOT TO BE WASTED. A SAVING OF \$10 TO \$15 BILLION OVER THE NEXT DECADE COULD BE MADE, ACCORDING TO A BROOKINGS STUDY, BY SUBSTITUTING CHEAPER STAND-OFF BOMBERS EQUIPPED WITH LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES.

26. THERE ARE OTHER SAVINGS THAT COULD BE MADE. SCORES OF MILITARY BASES ARE KEPT GOING FOR LOCAL EMPLOYMENT AND CONGRESSIONAL BACKSCRATCHING, RATHER THAN MILITARY REASONS. NATIONAL GUARD AND OTHER RESERVE UNITS ARE MAINTAINED ON CONGRESSIONAL INSISTENCE FOR POLITICAL REASONS, ALTHOUGH MOST COULD NOT BE READIED IN TIME TO GET TO EUROPE FOR THE RELATIVELY SHORT, INTENSIVE CONFLICT THAT IS EXPECTED THERE IF WAR SHOULD COME.

27. ALL IN ALL, A START NOW IN TRIMMING BACK PROGRAMS OF UNCLASSIFIED

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THIS KIND COULD REDUCE DEFENSE SPENDING PROJECTED FOR 1980 BY \$12 TO \$15 BILLION A YEAR, BROOKINGS' STUDIES INDICATE, WITHOUT REDUCING THE ABILITY OF THE UNITED STATES TO MEET ITS MILITARY COMMITMENTS ABROAD. A SELECTION OF CUTS TOTALING \$5 TO \$7 BILLION, THEREFORE, IS CLEARLY FEASIBLE MILITARILY. WHETHER MR. CARTER CAN MARSHAL THE POLITICAL SKILL AND SUPPORT TO CARRY OUT HIS PLEDGE IS THE ONLY QUESTION POSED.

28. (THE ABOVE ARE THE EIGHTH AND NINTH IN A SERIES OF YEAREND EDITORIALS, APPEARING THIS WEEK THROUGH DEC. 31, EXAMINING SOME OF THE MOST URGENT PROBLEMS AND ISSUES THAT FACE THE NEW CARTER ADMINISTRATION AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DURING THE COMING YEAR.) (END TEXT)  
ROBINSON

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